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THE
HISTORY
OF
Self-Defence,
In Requitall to the
HISTORY
OF
Passive Obedience.

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Licensed according to Order.

L O N D O N

Printed for D. Newman at the Kings-Arms in the
Poultrey, 1689.

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In Reply to the

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of the same.

By the same Author.

LONDON

Printed for D. Newman at the Kings-Arms in the
Parish of St. Martin, 1788.

The History of

Self-Defence, &c.

THere being nothing so natural to a Creature indow'd with life, as by all means possible to endeavour the preserving of it, it may be justly matter of admiration to the considering part of the World, that some that seem to have improved their understandings many degrees beyond the reach of Ordinary Men in all manner of Knowledge, should yet degenerate so far as to be more stupid than the Brutes themselves, and not only endeavour to persuade men out of their senses, and render them meer Statues, but flout at, yea represent them as persons not worthy to be suffered to live in the World, who cannot be so far bewitched out of both their Reason and Sense, but stand up for the Common Interest of Mankind, and maintain the Common Liberties and Priviledges thereof, than which none is more innate, nor more approved, either among Christians or Heathens (some few self-designing, and other weak persons hood-winkt by them excepted) than that of innocent self-defence is; which if it could be removed from the minds of men, what could be expected in the World but Tyranny, and all manner of injustice and Oppression? And though many of late are sufficiently perswaded of the folly (if not wickedness) of those principles, and returned to their right wits again, yet how many are there still, whom either the Vanity of being accounted constant in their Opinions, or some worse principle, keeps as Stiff and Tenacious of their mischievous Tenet as ever! Yea so far have they blinded themselves, that they cannot, or at least will not see what mischiefs they have already brought upon these Kingdoms, that 'twas next to a Miracle that they had not been inevitably ruined; and tho' a year ago many of them were sensible of their being too active in propagating such principles, and seemed to resolve for the future not to be so influential in their own Thralldom, yet no sooner was the Storm over, but they straight licked up their Vomit again,

and have become as great Wonderers after that Beast as ever, and as ready to condemn all those that maintain that great principle of Self-defence, which is the only Bulwark against Slavery and Tyranny, as Rebellious, Seditious, Enemies to Kings, &c. Wherein they bewray their Gross Ignorance, since Rebellion as such must needs consist in the Offensive, and not in the Defensive part, as we may see from both Sacred and profane History, to instance but a few that of the 5 Kings of the Cities of the Plain who had served *Cedarlaomer* 13 years, and so owned him for their Lawful Sovereign, and without any Acts of Oppression committed by him against them at that time rebelled: That of *Corah*, which has been so much insisted on, when there was not the least injustice committed by *Moses* against them, nor to mention others, there being no just reason in both cases why they should have rebelled; seeing they enjoyed both their Priviledges and Lives. As for their branding honest spirited men as being Enemies to Kings, there is no man if he reflects impartially upon our Non-resistance men, but must acknowledge that none have proved more mischievous to Kings than they: If we have sufficiency of Instances to prove the Truth of this, yet if we turn look back to that unfortunate Prince the late King *James*, as being freshest in our memory, we may easily see it. For who knows not that that Prince might have still been sitting upon his Throne, and that whatever Zeal he might have had for his Religion, yet would not have run so great a risque, as illegally to introduce it, and to overturn the Constitution of our Government both Civil and Ecclesiastical, had he not believed, that because that Opinion had got such an Ascendant about his coming to the Crown that his Subjects would prove another *Ishmael* Legion, they hold out their Throats to the Knife, and unconcernedly suffer themselves to be bubbled out of their Religion, Lives and Liberties? Nay were not the Patrons of this Arian Opinion opprobriously twisted by the Jesuits here, when in their highest Elevation, that tho' His then Majesty should introduce Popery, and put all his Protestant Subjects to the Sword, yet they must not resist him under the pain of damnation? Nor do I believe that any Prince under the Size of a Tyrant will look upon such men as any other than self-seeking Partisanes, and equally Enemies both to him and his Subjects, whom a Good Prince will cherish as his Children. Nor will he fear, notwithstanding it be the Received Opinion that in case a King should degenerate into a Tyrant, and instead of maintaining his Subjects in their Rights and Priviledges, should oppress and destroy them, they may justly defend themselves against his invading of their Rights, seeing

seeing he never designs any such thing ; and 'tis certain that while a King confines himself to the Legal Exercise of his Office, there is not the least ground to fear that any Party can be made against him, but there shall be 40 to one for them ; and if he has reason to fear any, I humbly conceive it is our passive Obedience men ; for as they do applaud even the worst of Princes in their most Arbitrary Actions if they find them for their purpose, so as they may have some Ascendant over them and such as are like them (as too plainly appears in their now Justifying and wishing success to that most Christian Tyrant, not to mention others) so it is more than probable that they do not love to have a Good Prince over them, which is sufficiently verified by their carriage towards their present Majesties.

But to come to the matter I design, since a late Anonymous Author has brought over some of his passive Commodities (as he says) from *Amsterdam*, a place where that precious Pearl is as meer a Drug as in any Empory in the World, which makes me think that our Author is so enamoured with his Strumpet Non-resistance that he has lost his senses, or it may be drowned them with drinking of King *James's* Health :) In opposition thereto I shall only present the Reader with a short History of self-defence, which shall not consist meerly of *adus ignis*, as that History does, but a plain Relation of matters of Fact, from Histories both Sacred and Profane, and shew that however that has been traduced by weak men, or men of depraved principles, yet in all Ages of the World it has been received as the Sovereign Remedy against Oppression, by as Wise, Pious, Learned men as any that are or have been in the World, and in number infinitely exceeding the other, and that they never questioned the Lawfulness thereof when necessity forced them thereto (for otherwise it cannot be Self-defence) and have by a timely, innocent use thereof preserved their Lives, and freed themselves from the Oppressions they groaned under ; and have procured themselves such a lasting settlement that their Posterity since happily enjoys what they thus purchased for them.

The first Instance I shall begin with is that of *David* when King *Saul* sought to take his life away, that he might secure the Kingdom the better to his Posterity ; I need not particularly insist on that which first prompted *Saul* thereto, nor mention all the passages that fell out then ; but however this is certain that *David*, if it was not upon the account of his defending his life against the unjust Attempts of King *Saul*, would not have had such a Train, for otherwise it had been far more easy for him to have escaped privately by himself, or

one or two with him than with 600 Men at his back ; and it may likewise be evinced from his words to *Abiathar*, who fled to *David*, when *Doeg the Edomite* by the appointment of *Saul* cut off all his Fathers House, *Stay with me, fear not, for he that seeketh my life seeketh thy life, but thou shalt be safe with me.* Now I would fain know what Gloss our Author would put upon these words ; for if *David* had not those men with design to defend himself against *Saul* and his Parties he should send out to take him, what comfort could that be to *Abiathar*, that upon a Party of them coming against them he would surrender himself, and so he would bear *Abiathar* Company in Death ? For tho' it be a trite Proverb, *Solamen miseris sociis habuisse malorum est*, yet *David* would have been but a *Jobs* Comforter to him, to tell him ; *Well now, you are come to me, fear not, you and I will not resist the Lords Anointed, but whenever he sends a party to apprehend us, we will patiently undergo death together ;* since it had been more comfortable for him to have died with the rest of his Fathers Family, and not have survived their Destruction. But the last words of the Verse, should any man be so stupid as to put such a Gloss upon these Words, would confute them, *viz. Thou shalt be safe with me*, which undoubtedly import this, *I will defend thy Life as I will my own to the utmost : And tho' it be certain that David fled several times before Saul, whether he could, yet the reason why he did so is expressly mentioned in Scripture, viz. For fear of Saul*, because he had much more numerous Forces with him, and so could have easily cut off him and his Men ; and besides, he being in League with *Jonathan*, so as he acknowledged even the Crown to be his due after his Fathers Death, he knew that if he could ward off the Blow till *Sauls* Death, he should have no reason to fear, which made him to seek no more than only to shun encountering with him : but had he been so shut up as that there had been no visible way of escape without fighting him and his Forces, there is not the least doubt to be made but he would have opposed him to the utmost. It is worth the while here to observe that *Saul* pursued *David* only upon a private spight, and as a private man ; we do not hear of any Inroad made upon the Priviledges and Liberties of the People in General, but that *Saul* acquitted himself indifferently, as to that, save in cutting off *Abimelech* and his Sons, and that upon a presumptive Treason, in harbouring and assisting with Arms and Victuals one whom he had declared Rebel, (*quo Jure, quare Injuria* is not material ;) And we need not look back 100 years to find more arbitrary proceedings than this was. And if it was lawful for *David* to defend his

his Life thus against that King and his Forces (who shed as many Prayers and Tears as ever any of our Non-resistance men had as good Audience and did likewise send forth many upon this account, yet would not lye down in the Myre and pray to God to save him by a Miracle) to save his own private life; much more is it lawful for a Community to defend their Religion, Lives and Liberties against Princes, who go about to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. And tho' at several times when *David* had King *Saul* delivered into his Hands, he would not cut him off, or do him the least hurt, yet that makes nothing for their purpose, for there is no doubt to be made, but that there were a great many in the Parliament Army, who would not have done the least harm to the person of King *Charles* I. I shall conclude this with what *St. Chrysostom* says of it, *Hom. 2. ad Romanos* Vol. 2. p. 105. Who introduces *David* speaking on this wise, when he fled from before *Saul* and had *Goliath's* Sword with him, and put himself into a Posture of Defence; "It is better for me to be miserable, and to suffer more hardship, than that *Saul* should be condemned by God for the Murder of an Innocent person, &c.

I cannot here but take notice of a Passage of Scripture that has been egregiously wrested by our Non-resistance Men, that which was spoken by the Prophet *Samuel* to *Saul* upon his not obeying the Command of God when he was ordered to destroy the *Amalekites*, viz. REBELLION IS AS THE SIN OF WITCH-CRAFT, which has been used by them as an Argument for Non-resistance till it's become Thired bare; and yet any ordinary capacity may see the weakness of it, since the Rebellion here immediately spoken of was not that of Subjects against a Prince (tho' none will deny that that which is really Rebellion is undoubtedly a great sin) but that of King *Saul* against God: So that this is very far fetched when used for an Argument against whatever those Gentlemen are pleased to Interpret Rebellion. And I am ready to Conjecture that it may have some allusion to what fell out towards the latter end of *Saul's* Reign, viz. His going upon Gods deserting him to consult with the Witch of *Endor*, 1 *Sam.* 28. And so his Rebellion was as his Witch-craft, the one having been committed in the beginning of his Reign, and the other upon the last day of his Reign, or thereabouts, for next day or 2 he was slain by the *Philistines*. Tho' this be but a Conjecture, yet it seems as little to wrest the meaning of the Text, as their Gloss. No less imperinently are those words of *Samuel* when he was offended at that peoples making choice of a King, *This shall be the manner of the King that shall*

rule over you applied, when they would thereby evince that a King may lawfully do whatever he please: Whereas, he is only there telling them the Inconveniency of an evil King; and yet all the while he never spoke a word of Non-resistance, as their Sovereign Duty; Yea most particulars there mentioned are such as all Subjects willingly allow to Kings; and for that of taking their Vineyards from them, we never read of its being put in Practice; for *Ahab* himself, who was a very wicked King, did not take away *Naboth's* Vineyard, but proffered him one as good for it, as is clear from, 1 *Kings* 21. 2, 3. And when he refused it, that King went home displeased, but did not intend to proceed any further in it, tho' *Jezabel* found out a trick to take away both his Life and it, by suborning persons to swear Treason against him. So that this Argument bears not that force in it, which they would persuade themselves it has. I shall add a 3d. Scripture to the former, which is likewise stretched beyond its native meaning, viz. that in the Psalms, *Touch not mine Anointed, do my Prophets no harm.* For it is plain from the words preceding that these words were directed to Kings themselves, to shew them, that tho' they were called the Lords Anointed, yet he in a special manner owned the Children of *Israel* his peculiar People as his Anointed, and they being then but few in Number, and the Kings designing to cut them off, he thereupon shewed them that he would maintain their cause against those Kings, and if they wronged them, he would take it as done to himself, and redress it. And the words may very well be rendred thus with a Supplement, and then they shew how remote their sense is that apply it immediately to Kings, viz. *Tea be reprov'd Kings for their sakes, saying, [unto those Kings, O ye Kings,] Touch [you] not mine Anointed, and do [you] my Prophets no harm.* And I wonder if any Non-resistance man can say that this is not the Immediate and native sense of the words: How far fetcht then must the Consequences be which those Gentlemen have made from them?

A 2d Instance from Scripture, and which imports a greater Opposition than a meer self-defence, is that of the 10 Tribes of *Israel* revolting from *Rehoboam*, upon his harsh return to their complaint of the Grievances of his Fathers Reign, and desire that he would redress them, 1 *King* 12. 1. &c. For that King, rejecting the good advice of his Fathers sage Counsellors, and following the Council of Young, Loyal, Tory, Dammee-boys, would own his Authority from none but God, and for that insignificant Mob, he did not value them, but said that his little finger should be heavier than his Fathers Loins; whereupon they

they fell away from him, and made choice of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat* for their King. And yet we no where hear them condemned for it in Scripture, as we find they were for Idolatry and other crying sins: So that it seems our Passive Obedience Gentlemen, have found out new Scriptures, who will have whatever they are pleased to interpret Rebellion, one of the grievouest sins that can be committed. And this thing was done by the Lord himself, as is clear from the Text; and therefore if it was a sin, God must be the Author of it, which those Gentlemen are very far from asserting. Yea when *Reboam* had like a brave-spirited Prince, raised a great Army to reduce them again to Obedience to him their Natural Sovereign, the Lord forbid him by *Shemajah* the Prophet, in *1 Kings* 12. 19. *Thus saith the Lord, you shall not go up, nor fight against your Brethren the Children of Israel; return every man to his house; it is of me.* As for that word, *1 Kings* 12. 19. *So Israel rebelled against the House of David*, it may be as well rendred as it is in the Margent, & the Dutch, *fell away*, and *Junius* renders it, *they made defection*; and tho the word Rebellion had been used here, it would not have imported a sinful Rebellion, no more than, *2 Kings* 18. 7. Where *Hezekiah* is said to have rebelled against the King of *Affria*, which was a fruit and effect of the Lords being with him, and prospering him in all his undertakings. Now since by this Instance we see that the People without sin (otherwise no doubt they would have been severely reprov'd for it in the Scripture) did thus as to the 10 Tribes unking *Reboam*, because he would not promise to redress their just Grievances, or to apply it to our Custom, because he would not take the Coronation Oath, whereby Princes bind themselves not to oppress their Subjects, but to exercise as Gentle a Government over them as possibly they can; how much more is it lawful for Subjects to defend themselves against the unjust Invasions and Oppressions of one who designs not only to overturn their Religion, and to introduce an Idolatrous Worship, but likewise expose all their Lives to the mercies of those, who have been guilty of the horridest cruelties that ever were perpetrated upon Earth? And not only the People were never reprov'd for this, but even the Arch Rebel himself *Jeroboam* was never charged with any guilt in this Action, tho he was severely checked for setting up the Golden Calves, from whence he had the denomination of *Jeroboam, who made Israel to sin*, which he did meerly upon a Political account, lest the 10 Tribes resorting yearly to the Passover and other Feasts at *Jerusalem*, should at last be persuaded to forsake him, and return to the House of *David*.

That he was never in the least charged with any sin in this, appears from the Words of *Ahijah* the Prophet, when *Jeroboam* sent his Wife in disguise to him about his Child that was sick, 1 *Kings* 14. 7, 8, 9. &c.

A 3d is that of *Elisha's* resisting those commissioned by the King to kill him, 2 *Kings* 6. 32. Saying to the Elders who sate with him in his House, *See ye how this Son of a Murderer hath sent to take away my head, look when the Messenger cometh, shut the door, and hold him fast at the door; is not the sound of his Masters feet behind him?* You see here that the King offered unjust Violence to the Innocent Prophet, and sent a Ruffian to take away his life without just cause; and the Prophet defendeth himself against him as well as he could in such circumstances, for he causeth hold him at the door, and violently press him, or press him betwixt the door and the Wall, which speaketh violent Resistance: The *Dutch* Annotations render it, *Keep him by force at the door.* And *Josephus* is of Opinion that the King followed quickly after, lest the Prophet should have killed his Servant. By which it would seem that private persons (for the Prophet was such) might sometimes lawfully defend themselves against unjust violence offered them by Kings or their Emissaries: And if so, there cannot remain the least doubt of the Lawfulness of a Community, or Body of the Peoples defending themselves against the Unjust Encroachments of a King upon their Religion, Lives and Liberties, when he is endeavouring to subvert the fundamental Constitutions, on which the Preservation of all depends.

4. The City of *Libna*, 2 *Chron.* 21. 10. Revolted (which is the highest degree of resistance) from wicked King *Jezebel*, who when he obtained the Kingdom of his Father, strengthened himself, and slew all his Brethren with the Sword, and likewise several of the Princes of *Israel*, v. 4. and walked in the way of the Kings of *Israel*, as the house of *Ahab* did, for he took *Ahab's* Daughter to Wife, and wrought that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, v. 6. And made him high places in the Mountains of *Judah*, and caused the inhabitants of *Jerusalem* to commit fornication, and compelled *Judah* thereto, v. 11, 13. And because he had thus forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers, the City of *Libna* revolted from him: And this is the Judgment of several Learned Commentators; *Cornelius a Lapide* on the place saith, *Libna* made defection from the King because of his wickedness. And *Sanctius* on, 2 *Kings* 8. 22. *Libna* revolted from being under his hand, for he had forsaken the God of his Fathers. And *Peter Martyr*, The cause is described in the *Chronicles* to have been the Kings wickedness,

wickedness, who went about to force his Subjects to Idolatry, which even those of Libnah would not sit with, and that with good reason, for we must obey the King but to the Altars, and since they had the possession of that Land on this condition, that they should worship him there according to his Word, by right thereof they ought not to suffer Idolatry. And whereas some say ; This imports not the Impulsive cause of the Revolt, or Motive which they had before their Eyes (for in the same verse and period it is said, the Edomites also revolted from him, because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers, and the Edomites loved not the true Religion) but the meritorious cause on Jehorams part is pointed at : It may be answered, That the Text itself and Commentators, to whom we may add Jackson, on 2 Kings 8. And the Dutch Annotations on the same place, give this as the Impulsive cause and only Motive they had before their Eyes. 2. It is obvious to any from the very Text itself that this is very remote from the true scope thereof, for v. 8. It's said, that in his days the Edomites revolted from under the Dominion of Judah, and made themselves a King, without any mention of this as the impulsive cause thereof ; and mention is made again of their revolt, v. 10. upon Jehorams endeavouring to reduce them to his Dominion ; and then mention is made of Libnabs Revolt in a distinct sentence with the cause and only Motive thereof ; Because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers :

5. Azariah and the fourscore Priests with him opposed King Uzziah, and would not suffer him to offer Incense (not considering it seems that he was the Lords Anointed) yea and when he persisted therein and took the Incense in his hand, and was smitten with Leprosy, they thrust him out of the Temple, 2 Chron. 26. 17, &c. They expelled him with force, stood against him, the LXX say, they resisted him, Vatablus, they thrust him out of the Place, Arias Montanus, they caused him to make haste, Jerom. They drove him out in haste ; when he went into the Temple to burn Incense upon the Altar of Incense on some solemn day, (as Josephus is of opinion.) So that here was a double resistance of him ; 1. By words, a What dost thou O King ? (to use that Expression of the Proverbs so much abused by our Passive-Obedience Champions) it appertaineth not unto thee, to offer Incense, that Office by God is appointed to the Priests only ; and they very peremptorily charged him to go out of the Temple ; and when upon his Obstinacy he was smitten with Leprosy, they not in the least regarded that he was Gods Anointed, but forceably drove him out of the Temple, Had those Priests been of our Gentlemens Opinion, they

would have said, God forbid that we should stretch out our hand any ways against Lords Anointed, it is true that God hath forbid any to offer Incense but the Priests, but he is unaccountable for what he does, we have no power to oppose him, tho' in a humble way we will Petition him, and pray his Majesty not to do that which will so much provoke God against him: And when he was turned Leper, how might they upon the same reason have said, that tho' 'tis true that God hath said that a Leper shall not enter into the Congregation, yet that was spoken of the Body of the People but not of Kings, who whatever they do must not be resisted by us, seeing they are accountable to none but God, and therefore let us not thrust him out. But we find no such Loyal Language proceeding out of their Mouths to this King. And hence it will undoubtedly follow, That a Prince, when he Rages and Tyrannizes contrary to all Justice and reason may be opposed by his Subjects.

6. And which is yet more than has been Instanced, In 2. Chron. 25. 27. After that *Amaziah* turned away from following the Lord, the People made a Conspiracy against him, and after that he having notice thereof, fled to *Lachish*, they sent men who slew him there, and afterwards set up his Son *Uzziah* upon the Throne. Now we do not read in Scripture that ever the People were reprov'd for this, nor was it ever reckoned afterwards to have been one of the procuring sins of all the Judgments that were poured out upon that Nation: And which, I think is very material, *Uzziah* upon his Accession to the Crown never in the least called any of them in Question for it, as was done in other cases, when some of their Servants treacherously rose up against them and slew them. These Instances I thought fit to lay before the Reader out of the Old Testament, that they may be laid in the Ballance with what our Non-Resistance men say to the contrary.

I shall only adduce one Instance out of the *Apocrypha*, and 'tis this.

7. The History of the *Macehabees* is a clear Example of private persons resisting and defending themselves from the unjust Oppression and Blood-shed of their then Sovereigns: for when *Antiochus* was compelling them to forsake God, and acting the Tyrant over them, *Matthias* a Priest and his Sons made open Resistance; and afterwards *Mattathias* and those with him, hearing how *Matthias* out of an over-nice Superstition would not fight in their own defence on the Sabbath-day, resolv'd upon all occasions to defend themselves, their Lives and Laws, and to take all advantage of the Enemy; and it pleased God

to bless their so Laudable designs that they recovered their Cities, Laws and Liberties, and overthrew their Oppressors in several Battles: And *Ofander* *Enchirid. Contr. c. 9. de Mag. Pol.* Testifies that this was done by the Encouragement and Assistance of the Spirit of God. And if any should alledge that this Instance is Impertinent, because they think that *Antiochus* was not their Lawful Supream Magistrate, but only a Tyrant without Title, I will recommend them to *Grotius* words in this case, who is of so great Authority with them in other things. In his Book *de Jure Belli & Pacis, l. 1. c. 4. l. 7.* he hath these words about it. *Like unto this appeareth that deed of the Macchabees, for whereas some think to defend these Arms upon this ground, that Antiochus was not King, but an Invader, it seems foolish to me, since in all the History of the Macchabees, and of such as took their part, they never name Antiochus any thing else but their King; and that not without reason, for long before this the Jews had acknowledged the Authority of the Macedonians, unto whose Power and Place Antiochus did succeed; and as to that that the Law forbiddeth that any Stranger should be set over them, that is to be understood of a voluntary Election, and not of what the people might through necessity be forced to do. And; whereas others say that the Macchabees used only the rights of the People, cuiusmodi debetur, neither is that solid, for the Jews being at first overcome by Nebuchadnezzar, and subjected to him by the Law of War, by the same Law they did obey the Medes and Persians, who succeeded unto the Chaldeans, and all this Empire came at length into the hands of the Macedonians: Hence it is that Tacitus reckoned the Jews amongst the basest of such as served these Assyrians, Medes and Persians. Nor did they require any thing by Stipulation from Alexander and his Successors; but without any conditions give themselves up unto their Power, as formerly they had been under the Command of Darius. And if at any time the Jews were permitted to use their own Rites and Laws, that was but a begged Right, which they had through the Indulgence of the King, but not through any Imperial Law. So that there is nothing that can defend the Macchabees but most imminent and certain danger. Thus he.*

Innumerable Instances of Self-defence might be adduced out of ancient Greek and Roman Histories, but since they are not of such force as those are which are produced from People professing the true Religion, I shall forbear it, and apply my self to adduce Instances from the practice of People under the Gospel.

It is true in the New Testament we meet but with one Instance

of such a defence.

of self-defence, and there it's prohibited: But not so forbid as if it were sinful, much less so great a sin as many of late have held it forth to be: For whereas in other places of the new Testament our Saviour rebuked *Peter* very severely with a *Get thee behind me, Satan*, at this time, when he drew his Sword in his Masters defence, he only said, *Suffer thus far, for thus it must be*: Now had this been a sin, it cannot be supposed but that our Saviour would not only have forbid it at this time, but have warned his Disciples against it for ever; And as to the words, *He that useth the Sword shall perish by the Sword*; that makes nothing at all for Non-resistance, since if taken meerly literally it would equally prohibit all fighting whatsoever, tho' against a Foreign Enemy Invading us, or against a Robber that is about to take away our Lives; which yet none will say is unlawful. And tho' some would make our Saviours Practice in this point a Rule for us, yet there is not the least ground for it; For if we consider the great Work of Redemption which he came into the World to accomplish, we may easily see that we are not to imitate every particular practice of his; and consequently that tho' he would not defend himself against any, yet we may lawfully do it, when necessity requires.

But since those that plead so much for Non-resistance lay their main stress on *Rom. 13. 1, 2, &c.* and *1 Pet. 2. 13*. We shall briefly hint at it. And it seems very plain that Obedience and Subjection to Lawful Magistrates is here insisted on, and not to Tyrants: For, 1. We are here commanded to be Subject to that Power which is the Ordinance of God, or as it is in *Peter*, the Ordinance of Man: But Tyranny is neither, but the Ordinance of Satan. *Gerhard de Magistr. Polit. N. 54*. Tells us, that the Apostle accurately distinguishes betwixt the Power and the abuse of the Power, and says that the Power, and not the abuse of it, is from God, and likewise betwixt the Office it self, and the Person in the Office, and *Berkeley* and many other Learned Men are of the same Opinion. 2. The Power that is not to be resisted is for the terror of evil doers, and encouragement of those that do well: But Tyranny is an encourager of those that do evil, and a persecutor of those that do well. 3. He is not to be resisted who is the Minister of God for good: But Tyrants are not the Ministers of God, nor for good, but of Satan? And so the Text infoces our Subjection, not to such as are Tyrants, or abuse their Power to the Oppression and Destruction of Subjects, but to such as carry themselves as the Ministers of God, for the Ends appointed, viz. the Advancement of Order and Peace in the World: So that notwithstanding any thing in this Text, Tyrants, or rather Tyranny may be opposed.

If any object, That there was no need *St. Paul* should insist so much on submission to Magistrates that answered the true ends of Government, since that was a Duty so plain that it needed not be much inculcated : I answer, with the abovementioned *Gerhard, Polit. N. 34.* and other Learned Men, That *St. Paul* gave this Exhortation to warn Christians to beware of that Heresy that then got up (which the Author of the History of Passive Obedience mentions himself) *that despised all Governments*, and accounted them the contrivance of evil Spirits, and likewise to prevent Christians from being led aside by the Jews, who held it unlawful to yield any Subjection to the Romans ; And therefore to confute these Errors, the Apostle says, *Let every Soul be Subject to the Higher Powers ;* and *St. Peter. Be subject to every Ordinance of Man.* But neither of these Apostles, carries this Non-resistance and Subjection to them, to that height as those men have done of late. Nor does either of them to say, that tho' a King were going to destroy his Subjects, yet they must not defend themselves, nor resist the Lords anointed, tho' never so great a Tyrant, which undoubtedly they would have done had they designed such a degree of Non-resistance as was lately so much cryed up here.

It may likewise be answered that the Apostles in the above-cited places are only giving Exhortations to private Christians as such, and not to Communities. And therefore what is spoken in both these Places does not concern the Body of a People *Collective*, but *private* Christians in particular. And so it makes nothing for our Adversaries purpose.

I shall now proceed to give some farther Instances of Self-Defence, and since the Primitive Christians lye in my way I shall a little consider them, especially since so much stress is laid upon their practice, but if no stronger Argument can be produced than their practice, it will be very weak.

For Should we make their practice our Rule in this point, we must do the same in others that are parallel. And so we should hold it unlawful for us to defend our selves against a Robber that have no Authority at all. For *Tertullian* tells us that they would not resist the Common People that assailed them without any Law, and seems to put no difference between resisting Emperors and private persons, as appears by his words, *Non sumus Imperatores, sed homines.* We behave our selves after the same manner to Emperors as we do to our Neighbours. Whatever is not lawful to do against the Emperor, is not lawful against any Man. And several of the Fathers thought it unlaw-

full to kill even a private man upon their own defence. See *Ambrosi de Offic.* l. 3. c. 4. *August. Epist. ad Public.* 154. & *de lib. Arbit.* c. 50. But which is yet more, many of those Christians would not so much as flee from the fury of their Persecutors; Yea *Fertul.* condemned flight in time of Persecution, *lib. de fuga in persecut.* Many of them run willfully upon persecution, when they had no call from God to do it: Nay, so ambitious were they of Martyrdom, that the Church at last was forced to emit a Declaration, that if any wilfully exposed themselves to danger unless he were taken up by the Persecutors, he should not be reputed a Martyr. So that, as the practice of the Primitive Christians in these above-mentioned is (as all acknowledge) no Precedent for us, so neither can it be in the other, since it is certain that what they did was rather the Effect of a desire of Martyrdom, which, as *Sulpitius Severus* says they gaped more after than men in his days did after Bishoprick, than a firm perswasion of the necessity of Non-resistance in all cases. For we never read that they maintained it unlawful for People to defend themselves in any case. And Besides, They had no Law on their side; and therefore their case was vastly different from ours, who have our Religion and Liberties confirmed to us by so many Acts of Parliament.

But even then we find some Instances of self-defence; for about the Year 235, some men inhabiting *Marocota*, with force rescued *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, out of the hands of those that were carrying him away; see *Blondel Schol. in Grot. de Imp. Sum. Pot.* And the same *Blondel* tells us that about the year 310 the *Armenians* defended themselves against *Maximius*, who came against them with an Army because of their Religion.

And since the World was blest with Christian Emperors, and had Laws made on their side, we find Christians behaved themselves otherwise than they did under Heathen Emperors, especially when they were under such Princes as Apostatized from the true Religion; particularly *Julian the Apostate*: For the Christians of those times did not only upbraid him, and prayed for his Destruction, but plainly shewed, that if he had used forcible means against them, they would have resisted him, as plainly appears from *Gregory Nazianzen, Orat.* 19. p. 307. and in his first Oration against *Julian*. And that Tyrant was sensible enough of that, and therefore he never used open force against them, but took what underhand Methods he could to supplant them, as appears from the Words of the said Father, *Nam enim si vis inferatur, acrioras, obstantioresque futuros, ac Tyrannidi obnixum pietatis tuenda studium obiecturos, &c.* i. e. If he had used violence, he knew that we would

would be more Active and Refractory, and would have opposed to his Tyranny a firm Resolution to defend our Religion; &c. I might adduce many other Authors of undoubted Credit to confirm this; but more have been shewed already than the Champions of Non-resistance shall ever be able to answer, and therefore for brevities sake I omit them, and shall bring some Instances of the Primitive Christians defending both their Pastors and themselves against their Persecutors.

1. When the Emperor at *Macedonius* Instigation, emitted a Proclamation that the Churches of such as embraced the Creed, containing the clause of one Substance should be thrown down, and the Commissioners for suppressing Churches went to put it in Execution, a great number of Novatians and others that maintained the Doctrine of one Substance, pulled down that Church, removed it to another place, and there erected it again. — Again *Macedonius* understanding that there were many both at *Papblagonia* and *Mantinium*, that could not be commodiously removed by Ecclesiastical Authority, perswaded the Emperor to send 4 Bands of Souldiers into *Papblagonia*, to terrify the Inhabitants, and make them turn *Arians*. But the Inhabitants of *Mantinium*, kindled with a fervent Zeal for the Orthodox Religion, went against the Souldiers with cheerful minds and valiant Courage; after they had mustered a great Body, and provided themselves with the best Arms they could procure, they marched to meet their Enemies, and fought them; in this Battel many of the *Papblagonians* fell, but few, if any, of the Souldiers escaped. He likewise tells us in the same place, that when this *Macedonius* was about to destroy the Temple in which *Constantine* lay interred, and designed to translate the Emperors Bones, the People resisted him, and when he got the Bones carried into the Church where *Aecius* the Martyr was buried, the Multitude of the contrary side ran thither in haste; and this occasioned a very great Slaughter, and the Poreh unto the Street run with Blood, and was full of Dead Bodies. And the Emperor was mightily enraged at *Macedonius* for his precipitancy in this Action.

Socrat. Hist.
Eccles. l. 2. c.
30.

2. The Christians in *Persia*, when they were oppressed by *Barabanes* or *Baratanes* King thereof, fled to the Romans, to beg their help; upon which and some other causes the Romans declared War against that King. It is true they did not rise up against that King when they remained in his Country, because they were not in a case to do it. But *Socrates*; lib. 7. declares that they came as Suppliants to the Romans, and craved that they

Hist. Tripartit.
l. 11. c. 15.

They would commiserate their case, and not suffer them to be so oppressed : And the Emperor made this a great cause of the War. And when the *Persian* King demanded back his Fugitives (as our Non-resistance Gentlemen's most dearly beloved Champion did a few years ago) they answered they would not do it ; and that they would not only endeavour to set the Suppliants at Freedom, and deliver them from their Oppressors; but also that they would undergo any thing for the good of the Christian Religion, and (as *Socrates* saith, *lib. 7. c. 18.*) they designed not only to aid them, but also by all means endeavour to maintain the Quarrel of the Christian Religion.

3. When *Athanasius* was forced to flee out of *Alexandria*, and *Gregorius* was brought thither with armed Soldiers, and put in possession of the Church, the Citizens of *Alexandria*, notwithstanding that *Syrianus* the Captain under the Emperor was there with 5000 Armed Men, were so displeased at what was done, that they set *St Denis* Church on fire.

4. After the Orthodox at Constantinople had chosen *Paul* for their Bishop on the Death of *Eusebius*, the Emperor sent *Hermogenes* the Captain to thrust *Paul* out of the Church, and when he came to execute his Commission by force, the People prepared themselves to aid their Bishop, broke into the House where *Hermogenes* was, pulled him out and killed him. And when *Paul* was again placed in *Constantinople*, the Emperor sent *Philip* the President to remove him, and to set up *Macedonius* the *Arian* in his stead. But *Philip* was so afraid of the People (it seems the Doctrine of Non-resistance was not much preached up among them, otherwise he would not have been afraid, for they were very observant of their Teachers Injunctions) that he went straight into the publick Bath called *Zenxippus*, and sent for *Paul* ; and being in fear of the Multitude, that flocked thither upon Suspicion, conveyed him secretly out at a Window : Then he and *Macedonius* went into the Church, and were guarded all along with Souldiers, and when they came to the door, there was so great a crowd that they could not enter, till some thousands, were killed. And likewise *Valens* the Emperor durst not, for fear of the People, put to death those 80 Priests that came to supplicate in name of all the rest in *Nicomedia* and were Commanded to be killed.

5. Several Monks inhabiting Mount *Nurja*, espoused *Cyrills* Quarrel, and coming to *Alexandria*, assaulted the Lieutenant

Socrat. Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 8. Greek Copy, 11.

Idem l. 2. c. 10.

Socrat. l. 4. c. 13.

Idem. l. 7. c. 14.

Lieutenant in his Chariot, with Stones, so that his Guard was forced to betake themselves to flight.

6. When the Emperor had banished *Chrysostom*, about the year 404. The People flocked together about the Palace, so that the Emperor, to pacify them, was forced to recal him from his Banishment. *Hist. Tripartit. l. 10. c. 13.*

7. When *Ambrose* was banished by *Valentinian*, at the Instigation of his Mother *Justina*, the People did resist such as came to carry him away; such was their Zeal for the Truth, and Love to their injured Bishop, and chose rather to lose their Lives, than suffer their Pastor to be taken away by the Soldiers, that were sent to drag him out of the Church. *Ibid. l. 9. c. 20. Ruffin Hist. l. 11. c. 15.*

More Instances might be adduced from those times, which shews of how little account the Doctrine of Non-resistance was in those days: And that they were far from thinking it a damnable Doctrine, that People might lawfully defend themselves against the Invasions of Tyrannous Princes upon their Rights and Priviledges, I shall now descend to shew what Instances of Self-defence are extant since the time that Popery prevailed in the Christian Church.

The first Instance we have after the Prevalency of Popery over true Christianity is that of the *Waldenses* or *Albigenses*, (who are undoubtedly the Ancientest Protestants in Europe) who had been a long time oppressed by Princes that had given up their Power to the Beast, and endeavoured by all means to suppress the true Religion there, and used now and then to take off some of the Professors thereof, putting many of them to exquisite Torments: But their Enemies, being but Novices in respect of those who followed them, and not having then found out that Sovereign Method of extirpating Hereticks by Massacring, had their Address to open force, and made greater Preparations against them than ever were formerly made against the Turks, that they might make an end of them all at once: Which those Innocent People perceiving, they got together upon their own defence, and had several Battels with them; and tho' it pleased God to let their Enemies have the Victory, and the poor people were forced to fly; yet their flight contributed much to the Advancement of the Gospel, for being thus scattered, they sowed the seed of the Gospel through several Places of Europe. *Thuan. Prof. in hist. suis temp. & lib. 5. A. 1550.*

2. The Protestants of *Bohemia*, after they saw that *John Hus* and *Jerom* of *Prague* Mar- *Theat. Mat. p. 681. Mat. in Chron. l. 27. p. 314, 315.*

tyred by their Enemies, (the former of whom was most unjustly taken off by his adversaries, when he had the publick faith of the Emperor *Sigismund*, for his safe appearance) thought it time to look to their Preservation, when they saw that they were all designed for slaughter ; and therefore they stood up to defend themselves and their Religion ; their first Leader was *Ziska* (or *Joannes de Tros Nova*) who behaved himself so valiantly. that the *Germans* were not able to stand before him ; and when he was a dying he ordered a Drum to be made of his Skin, affirming, that whenever his Enemies heard the sound thereof, they would forthwith betake themselves to flight. This War continued 13 years, *Anneas Sylvius* speaking of it saith, *that it would be more admired than believed by Posterity*. The Emperor sent 3 Armies against them. *viz.* one under the Duke of *Saxony*, another under the Marquess of *Brandenburgh* and a 3d under the Bishop of *Trier*, who in all consisted of 200000 Men. Yet they were routed in several Battels, and forced to go out of *Bohemia*. Several Cardinals were with them, to curse those Rebels of damnable Commonwealth Principles with Bell, Book and Candle, with all Order and Decency that could be, and yet notwithstanding, that Loyal Army could not stand before this factious Rabble, tho' a Cardinal gave them his Blessing, told them that they fought against Hereticks, Dogs, and what not ? promised them Indulgences, Apostolical Blessings, &c. Yet all would not do. For as good a cause as those Men had, *viz.* fighting for their Gracious Sovereign, they were forced to betake themselves to that which was the others part to have done, *viz.* Prayers and Tears, and run for it. And had those people continued unanimous, they might without Interruption have enjoyed the freedom of their Religion and other Priviledges till this day, but they being made up of 2 sorts, as generally all Churches are, the one, and by far the greatest, stood up only for the Cup in the Sacrament, who were therefore called *Calixtines*, in other points agreeing with the Church of *Rome*. The other called *Taborites* far inferiour in Number, rejected likewise the Doctrine and Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome* as superstitious and false ; the other Party, by the perswasion of *Rokyzana* who gaped after the Archbishoprick of *Prague*, were reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, retaining only the use of the Cup ; and when the *Taborites* protested against them for it ; this Party to shew that they were in earnest reconciled to that Church, and had received the Gifts of that Spirit that are diffused there, *viz.* Blind-zeal, Bloodthirstiness, &c. raised forces against them and gave them a total Overthrow, Anno 1434. So that they dragooned them

to Non-resistance; for since they had now no force against them, they were forced to restrict themselves to what defence they could make by the Sword of the Word and Patience. The City *Tabor* which they had built was likewise Sack'd, and they dispersed. But *Rokyzana*, when he saw the Pope tantalized him with the vain hopes of the Archbishoprick, began to thunder out afresh against the Pope as Antichrist, and to separate from the Latin, and unite with the Greek Church. But the Pope, knowing that the only way to stop a Dogs Mouth, when he is a snarling, is to throw him a Bone, gave him his Bishoprick; after which this good Bishop was pleased to interceed with King *George* to grant them free Liberty to dwell in the Mountainous parts of *Silesia*; whither they went in the year 1459. Giving themselves wholly to the reading of the Scriptures and Prayer; their Faith and Lives being framed according to Apostolical simplicity. But their Peace was not long lived, as it seldom ever was in a Church, when it had no other means left it but Prayers and Tears; for that good Bishop (it's like out of a pious design to nip so dangerous a faction as that was in the bud, and to advance Mother Churches peace) informing the King what dangerous men those were, perswaded him to use his fatherly Chastisement to reduce his Rebellious Subjects to their due Obedience, which could not be done, without an *Uniformity* in matters of Religion and Ceremonies; So that they were forced to betake themselves to the Woods and Caves, where they durst not kindle fire in the day time, in the extremity of Cold, lest the smoke should discover them to their Enemies. See *Regenswile. Hist. Slavon. p. 2. 29. &c.* Who relates a great many things of these Brethren even till the times of *Erasmus*, who himself did not disapprove their Opinion.

3. When in the year 1529 a Meeting of the States of the Empire was held at *Spire*, a Decree was published which very much straitned the Liberty of the Protestants, *Slidan. l. vi. vii. xvii. Thuan. l. iv. Hist. l. viii.* *Joh. Elector of Saxony, Geo. of Brandenburg, Ernest and Fran. of Lunenburg Phil. of Hesse*, protested publickly against it on *April 19.* And several Cities, as *Strasburg, Norimberg, Ulm* and others subscribed their Protestation; from which time they had the name of Protestants. And when they were threatened a War by the Emperor, the rest of the States of the Empire and all the Popish Faction, they entred into a League at *Smalcald*, on *Nov. 23.* to defend their Religion and Liberties, against their unjust Invasions. And afterwards in the Year 1547. The Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of *Hesse* gave the Emperors battel at *Mulberg* where they were routed

routed by his Army, and *Friderick* Elector of *Saxony* after he had received several wounds was taken Prisoner. And in the year 1552 *Maurice* of *Saxony* made War upon the Emperor, to procure the Landgrave of *Hessia* his Father in Law his Liberty. And he made so great Expedition, that he was upon the Emperor before he was aware, and did so surprize him, that he made him fly from *Mulhousia* in the Middle of the Night, and set at Liberty both the Elector of *Saxony* and the Landgrave. And when *Maurice* had almost over-run all *Germany*, a Peace was concluded at *Passaw*, by the Mediation of *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary* and *Bobemia*, wherein Liberty of Religion according to the *Auspurg* Confession was established.

4. It is no less certain, that the *French* Protestants defended themselves against Authority, when they saw that they were designed as sheep for the Slaughter and that great Armies were raised there, and much blood shed, so that Rivers are said to be coloured with Blood. And when it pleased God so to defend those distressed Protestants that their Bloody Enemies, could not obtain their ends by open Hostility, they betook themselves to that Inhumane way of Massacring, and having gathered together most of the leading Protestants of *France* under pretence of solemnizing the Marriage of that Kings Daughter with the King of *Navar*, they cut them off in one night, to the number of 70000, that so the Countrey People being destitute of their Leaders might be a Prey to them. Now had our so much magnified Doctrine of Non-resistance been in force there, there had been no need of having recourse to such Inhumane a Method as this; for there needed no more, if so be they would have made no Opposition in their own defence, but stringed them up in hundreds and thousands.

5. It is likewise sufficiently known how the Protestants of the *Netherlands* defended themselves against the Tyrannical Oppressions and Cruelties of the King of *Spain* and the Duke de *Alva* his Governour, when the Inquisition was set up there, whereby several of their Nobles were cut off, and that at that time *William* of *Nassaw* Prince of *Orange*, made his Escape to his Father in Law *Maurice* Elector of *Saxony*: At the news of whose escape, *Granvellan* said, that it signified little that the Counts of *Horn* and *Egmond* were taken, since that Quiet thinking *William* had made his Escape. He returned afterwards, and was made use of by God as the Great Instrument of the Delivery of Gods Church and People there, and defended them against their Bloody Enemies;

And

And had not God stirred up this great Prince to put a stop to that Tyrants fury, and to resist his unjust Inroachments upon the Peoples Liberties, and defend the true Apostolick Faith against the Romish Innovations, 'tis a great Question whether that had not still been a Land of graven Images : And had Non-resistance been in Vogue there, we had been deprived of that Great Mercy we now enjoy in having a Prince descended of his Loyns to reign over us: For that Noble Family had then been undoubtedly destroyed.

6. To name no more (tho' several others might be instanced) It is likewise known, how in the beginning of the Reformation in Scotland, the same Method was taken there, viz. that some of the Nobility and People when they saw that Queen wholly abandoned to the Counsel of her Priests, and when no Petitions could avail any thing, entred into a mutual League to defend themselves against what unjust force should be attempted against them, tho' in the mean while they treated that Queen very honourably, and would have given her all defence possible, but only they found it as much for her good as theirs, to prevent her embroiling her hands in the Blood of the Saints, and her making opposition to God in that great work he was bringing about there. And it pleased God so to espouse their Quarrel that they freed themselves from that Romish Yoke under which they had so long groaned, and revived the pure Apostolick Religion there. By all which Instances it appears that the Doctrine of Self-Defence is not such a Bugbear as our Non-resistance men would make it: But that it has been more or less practiced in all Ages; nor can they shew half so many Presidents for their Passive Obedience; Nor was it ever so enjoined in Scripture, as they maintain it: Nay I am sure it has been more insisted upon here in one Sunday than ever it was in all the Scriptures, and Primitive Christians, and others subsequent till of late years, and that at a time when Charters and Priviledges were taken away, traps laid against the Lives of several Innocent persons and a Prince devoted to the Romish Interests ready to mount the Throne; *Pio nonne conamine?* Methinks were there the least grain of Modesty in those persons they should be ashamed of former actings, and not endeavour to do them over again. But 'tis easily known what these men drive at.

Nor will this seem harsh Doctrine to good Princes, that love their Subjects, and whose aim it is to answer that great end for which they were set up, no more than a Husband or Parent would be offended, if told, that if he in a mad or drunken fit should go about to Murder his

his

his Wife, Children or Servants, they would bind him all such time as his drunken fit or madness were over: In such a case undoubtedly the Parent, &c. would be so far from resenting the affront offered to his Despotick or Paternal Authority, that he would thank them for doing it; the Application is easie.

But since *contraria juxta se posita clarius elucescunt*, I shall only present the Reader with one instance of the resisting of Authority that is condemned in the Scriptures, and 'tis that of *Storch* and *Munizer*, and the other Anabaptists in *Germany*, An. 1525. who would not give due Obedience to Magistrates, and under a pretext of Christian Liberty committed many Riots, so that in one Summer about 50000 of the Faction were cut off. *Munizer* was the Instigator of this Fury, who pretended to Enthosiasms, Dreams, Internal Revelations, and other Phanatical Whimsies. He rejected Infant-Baptism, said that not the Scripture, but that which was secretly revealed to Men, was the Word of God; that God was about to set up a new Government, in which he would destroy all Earthly Potentates, and put the Government into the hands of the Godly. His principal Tenet, on which all the Sedition depended was, *That Wicked Magistrates should be destroyed, and Godly Magistrates should be set up in their places*. By which means he gathered together a great many silly people, seized on several Cities, and committed great Outrages, till his Enthusiastick Army was routed, and he himself taken, and punished according to his deserts.

I say this Instance is quite different from those we mentioned above, who never had any design against the Magistrates, but only endeavour'd to defend their Lives and Religion against the Illegal Invasions of Tyrannous Princes; whereas these now mentioned had no less design than wholly to overturn that Sacred Order, they being much of the same Principles with Fifth Monarchy men, and those of that Kidney here, by whose means undoubtedly they having made so strong a Party in the Army, King *Charles I.* was so horridly Murdered, to the abhorrence of all good Men, even such as were of Opinion that Subjects might lawfully defend themselves against the Encroachments of Princes upon their Laws and Liberties. And since our Non-resistance men have taken occasion to expose those in our Neighbouring Kingdom of *Scotland* as men of the same Principles, I shall briefly shew how maliciously they aspersed them; for the first rising there An. 1666, was occasioned by the Outrage of Souldiers, who grievously harassed that poor People in the West of *Scotland* to the beggaring of many hundreds of Families who lived in good repute there; all that while they never

never offered to rise, till the barbarous Soldiers offered violence to some of those poor distressed People, whereupon they defending themselves against their Outrage, and several of the Country people coming in to their Assistance, they killed some of the Soldiers, and then expecting nothing but to be made a Sacrifice, they resolved to defend themselves to the utmost, and got together some 3000 Men; and tho' they took Major Turner (who had been so great an Oppressor) Prisoner, yet they did not offer him the least Injury, but shewed him all the Civility imaginable, as he himself afterwards declared, which shews that they were not such Blood-thirsty Men as they were represented to be: Nor did they then declare against the King, but only against the Tyranny of their Bishops, they having no other way left of making his Majesty sensible of the grievous Oppression they groaned under. And that also in 1679 was occasioned by the late *Dundas* then *Chancellor* his going against them, when at a Field meeting; and discovering him, they sent out what armed Men they had to treat with him, who pray'd him to let them conclude their Devotions, and they would all disperse themselves peaceably; but he thirsting after their Blood, and designing to make as many of them Prisoners as he could, (which was but little better than death, considering in what Jails they were Imprisoned, and how long kept) ordered his Men to Fire upon them, whereupon after receiving his Fire they discharged upon him, and gave him and his Men such warm Entertainment that they were glad to scamper. This raising the Country again in a few days they were 7 or 8000 strong, (a sufficient instance to confute that which is with so much confidence whispered about here, that the Major part of *Scotland* is for Episcopal Government, when all *Dundas* and his Party could muster up in a quarter of a years time never equalled this number) and would have increased to above 20000 in a few days, had not some of their Number been dispatched Messengers thro' the Countries to pray the People not to come in, upon a difference that arose among them, about their Obligation to King *Charles II.* at penning of their Declaration why they were thus in Arms; the by far greatest number of them declaring that they did not in the least design any thing against His Person or Authority, but would maintain the same according as they were obliged by their Covenant, but only they had no other way of informing his Majesty of the sadness of their condition; since he was encompassed with their Enemies; tho' some others, and especially those who had taken upon them to command the rest, would have declared against him likewise, who no doubt might be seduced by some Romish

Emissaries; that in such a juncture might easily insinuate themselves amongst them. By which it may appear that however those Men have been malign'd by Black Mouths, yet they are as great Lovers of Monarchy, as Loyal, and as ready and cheerful to give a *Rational* and *Conscientious* Obedience to Monarchs as any, tho' I confess I cannot boast of their Loyalty to the Mitre, especially they cannot endure that it should be set a top of the Crown; But how much they are for Monarchy may be seen by their being so active in bringing home King Charles the Second, tho' I will not Swear that the Proverb is not fulfilled, *Perire quod se ingratum*.

Having thus deduc'd the History of Self-Defence from the very first King of the *Israelites*, and shew'd by Instances, that as it began with Kings there, so it continued as long as the Jewish Government lasted, and adduc'd several Instances of it in the Primitive Times, but more especially in the time of the Reformation, I shall conclude with a few Remarks upon the Authors Preface, where he is principally concerned, he having done nothing in the rest, but brought in some far fetch'd Consequences. He begins his Preface with telling you that *he always* ^{did} *thought that the Doctrine of Non-resistance had been a Doctrine* ^{found} *in the Holy Scriptures, &c.* Which is much the same with the Dying Testimony of a late Reverend Prelate of the Church of England, who had suck'd it in with his Mother's Milk: So that by his own words, he seems never to have impartially weigh'd the strength of Arguments on both sides, but has taken it upon trust, so that it can have little weight with any considering Man. But what he says as to its being maintained in the first Ages of the Reformation, is easily said than proved. That the first Reformers of the Church of England acknowledged all due subjection to Authority (in the same sense as all other Churches, and every honest Man does, *viz.* to Princes acting Legally, and those who are true Fathers of their Country) is beyond all doubt. But that the first Reformers of the Church of England did maintain Non-resistance to the same height that this Author and his Party does, is more than he can evince, since there is nothing of it in the 39. Articles; and the Citations which he brings out of the Homilies seem to affect private Persons, and not a Community. But if this was always the profess'd Doctrine of the Church of England, that it was in no case Lawful for Subjects to resist or defend themselves against the Tyrannical Invasions of their Princes, how came this to approve of and contribute to the assisting of Protestants actually in Arms against their Kings, particularly those of the Seven Provinces, those

those of *Scotland*, and of later days the Protestants of *Roche*? I believe that Author will scarce venture to say, that she did not approve it: And therefore it must either be granted that she did not maintain Non-resistance in that height as our Author and his Party do, or that she acted very dissolutely to her Principles; which would be a great Reflection on so great and pious Divines as lived then: For had she been of Opinion that it was unlawful for Subjects upon any account to defend themselves against the unjust Oppressions of their Sovereigns, she must needs at the same time see that it was unlawful for her to be Aider and Abettor with them, and partake of their sin: And so instead of approving or sending off supplies to them, she should have sent them over that Christian Exhortation, that it was their indissoluble Duty to submit their Necks to whatever their Sovereigns should impose upon them, and suffer it patiently, and by no means to resist their Superior Powers: But we have nothing upon Record that any of her Divines at that time living objected any thing against it: And therefore we may with all the reason of the World conclude that had it been her own case, she would have taken the same Methods of defending her self as other Protestants did: For she had but a little before been under the same Trials, her self, and therefore she knew better what it was to be under a persecuting Tyrant to her sad experience, than our Author, and his Party, to whom we may truly apply that of our Saviour to his Disciples, which they have so often applied to others. That they know not what manner of Spirit they are of. As to what befell afterwards of her Loyalty during Queen *Mary's* Reign: It may be answered, that in King *Edward* the Sixth Days she was but in her Infancy, and 'tis probable that the Protestants at that time were not so strong in *England*, but that the Papists clothed with Authority would have been too hard for them: Besides that the Protestant Party was at that time weakened by the Factions and Animosities of some great Men, which no doubt (as it was promoted by the Papal Faction so) gave great advantage to their Enemies: As by the heats of our present Non-resistance Men great advantage is now given to the common Enemy, so as they are become very insolent, who otherwise were there no Fewds amongst us, durst not so much as murmur. As to her being so active in bringing Queen *Mary* to the Throne, I think it may deserve enquiry, whether she might not have done as well if she had excluded Queen *Mary*, and set up Queen *Elizabeth* immediately upon King *Edward VI.* Death: Since she could have sufficiently justified her self in so doing, in as much as King *Henry VIII.* Marriage

with her Mother was declared unlawful by the most Learned Divines and Casuists in Europe, as being not only forbidden in the Old Testament, but likewise in the New by John the Baptist, when he told Herod that it was not lawful for him to have his Brothers Wife, which being true, Queen Mary had no Right to succeed, since she was Illegitimate, more than the late Duke of Monmouth had; so that the Loyalty during the *Marian* Persecution will not be very much to his purpose: And whereas that Author seems to obviate an Objection,

viz. That Adversaries pretend that there is something of self in the case that makes them stand up so much for Non-resistance:

I do not see, notwithstanding all he has said for the Vindication of his Party, but it is still unanswered, since there hath never been a time since the Church of England was in her most flourishing state, that she had occasion to discover her Loyalty towards persecuting Princes. And since I know this Gentleman reckons only those of his own size the True Churchmen (they having sufficiently discovered this to the World, when they branded the most Learned, most Religious, most Moderate, and numerous Party of the Church with the opprobrious Name of *Trimmer*) I would desire him to pause a little, and consider upon what ground it is that they found their Non-resistance upon: There are two great commands upon which the whole Duty of Man hangs; *viz. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, &c.* and *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self.* They cannot say it depends on the former, at least immediately; tho' there are not wanting instances of too many of that sort of Men, who both by their Doctrine and Practice shewed much more Zeal to the Earthly God than to the Heavenly, as could be made appear both from their so much insisting upon their Non-resistance (at a time when it might not have been thought so seasonable) and thereby shuffling out those Exhortations which immediately concerned the Salvation of Souls, and by the Immoral practices of several of them. We know there is a Church where more honour is shewed to Christ's Vicar than to himself; I wish it be not so with many of our Non-resistance Men to his Viceroy. But since it must needs be granted that it depends on the latter, the sincerity of those men in this particular may be tryed by their observance of other parallel Duties enjoined in that same General Precept; and if they be found faulty in those we have the more reason to suspect them in this. I have several times wondered why of all men in the World most of our Non-resistance Champions should have the confidence to pretend to the Observation of so self-denying a Pre-

cept,

cept, as that seems to be, since none are readier to resent the least Injuries than they are, yes, when they will look upon that to be an Injury which is really none; and if so be they cannot put up the least supposed injury in the smallest things, and from which they can receive the least prejudice, how can it be supposed they would do it, if it should come to the loss of Lives and Liberties? None that I know of, except the Romanists, have so far vented their Spleen, and used such rigour and severity against those that differ from them, none have defamed and misrepresented them more than those men who especially plead for Non-resistance; and how that great Christian principle of Love which they so much pretend to, is exercised therein, I cannot conceive. Now if there be such a failure in that so Obvious and Necessary a Duty, I think, that without any great breach of Charity a man may conclude that their Doctrine of Non-resistance is no other than the Doctrine of the Bow-string. For if their Loyalty, which they so much pretend to proceed from an unfeigned respect to the Command of God, a respect to the same Command would likewise inspire them with Christian Love and Charity towards all men, tho' never so much dissenting from them, much more towards those who differ only from them in smaller Matters. So that while they thus boast that they have fulfilled the Commandment of the Lord in destroying those *Amalekites*, I mean those sinful Passions that are so prejudicial to Societies as well as particular Men, the bleatings of the Sheep testify against them that they are not such as they would make the World believe, notwithstanding all their specious pretences to Loyalty. And since they used to inveigh so much against other persons when they express their dislike against some Arbitrary Proceedings in the Reign of King *Charles II.* as those that *spoke evil of Dignities*, and so reckoned them as the worst of men, when those that but espoused their darling Non-resistance, tho' otherwise the stain of Humanity itself, much more of Christianity, were good honest men; I only would desire them to reflect upon their Invectives against the late King *James*, for near the last 2 years of his Reign, and how kindly they entertained the severest Lampoons against him. There is none that conversed with them but can testify to the Truth of this; and I doubt not but this Author had his share in it. Nay, may we not remember how highly many of them resented King *Charles II.* His pardoning the late Duke of *Monmouth*, and could not forbear saying, *What! has His Majesty served us thus?* So that we may see that either they must be above the King and have him at their beck, or nothing will satisfy them: And notwithstanding all our Author has said

in his Parties Vindication, that saying of the Father of lies will be a Truth when applyed to them; viz. *Does Job serve God for naught?* For if they be but dissatisfied in the least none would curse the King more than they would do.

As for what he says, that *the Doctrine cannot be unseasonable*,
 Pag. 2. *since no Government can be safe without it*, it is manifestly false; for if a King keeps himself within the due bounds that God and the Laws of the Land set him, he needs not fear any hurt from his Subjects, tho' there were not a Man in the world that maintained Non-resistance. And on the other hand, if this Principle were generally maintained, I would fain know how the World could be preserved from Tyranny and all manner of Oppression and Injustice. I hope this Author will acknowledge that we must not always expect Miracles. Now were this Doctrine generally held, we could never be safe but under good Princes, and scarce under them, could but such Gentlemen as this Author get the Ascendant over them, and if we peruse Histories of former times, we shall find several bad Kings to one Good. Now if this Doctrine were become Universal, there would be no restraint upon a King, the Laws would prove but like *Sansons* Cords, which he without fear would snap asunder at his pleasure, since he knew that whatever he did all would be patiently taken. May we not then justly apply that of our Saviour to the Pharisees, to those men that advance such dangerous Opinions, *That they would bind heavy Burdens on other Mens Shoulders, but would not touch them with one of their little Fingers?* And put the same Question to them which the Apostle did to Judaizing Christians, *Acts. 15. 10. Why tempt you God to put a Yoke upon the Neck of the Disciples, which neither we nor our Fathers were able to bear?* And is there any Yoke more grievous than that People and Nations must be all their life long in Bondage, and that without any hopes of Redress, except by a Miracle? Did not the wisest of Men and Princes say, *Oppression maketh a wise man mad?* But to apply this Doctrine to our Constitution here, would not this Doctrine at one blow cut off all the Rights of Parliament? And then we should have no Laws but the Kings Pleasure: For were this Doctrine in force, he might lay on a Tax at his pleasure, and send out Booted Apostles to force the People to pay whatever he imposed upon them, and if they would not pay it willingly, take it perforce from them, and all the while they must patiently sit still, and not make the least Opposition against those that are sent out by him, whatever Outrages they should commit. And is not this a Doctrine highly advan-

pageous to Humane Societies? I am afraid our Author and his party were they touched in the quick with this would be as ready to kick as those men they so much rail at. But we may generally observe that the greatest Cowards boast most of their Courage, before it come to be tryed in Battel, and therefore we shall excuse them for once.

As for his Instance of King Charles I. Tho' there is no good Man but abhors the barbarous Murdering of that Prince, yet I *bid.* think our Author cannot but acknowledge, that he, tho' of a very good nature, was drawn aside (no doubt by such Gentlemen as he) to act several Illegal things. It is certainly known that the Massacre in Ireland did stir up the Spirits of many in England, out of a fear lest they should suffer the same things here; and the advice of some high flown men given to that King, of introducing new Ceremonies into the Church of Scotland, stirred up the Spirits of that Kingdom; all which jumping together made way to his ruine: Which was afterwards effected by some bloody, self-designing men that made a party in the Army. But our Author needs not wonder so much, as he does to see her Sons disown that which he calls her Doctrine, since he might have known that many of her Sons were in the Parliament Army: (a great part of King Charles I. Army being Roman Catholics, so that they were but the smallest Number of the Church of England that joyned him.) But as I said, before this Gentleman reckons none true Sons of the Church but those of his own size; As for the rest, I doubt not but he includes them with those *Eunuchs*, who make a fasting day of our Saviours Nativity (*as if they were sorry that he came into the World, and perhaps with reasons, because their Affections were so contrary, both to his Precepts and Example.*) By which we may see that this Gentleman has been so intent in conning the 13 of the Romans, that he had no time to spare for the 14th. Otherwise he would have been more sparing in rash judging, for he might have read in Verse 4. of that Chapter. *Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; let not him that eateth not, despise him that eateth*—and in v. 6. *He that keepeth a day to the Lord he keepeth it; and he that keepeth not a day to the Lord, he keepeth it not.*—Or it may be our Author has past his courses of smaller Duties, such as this is, and minds only the Topping and most difficult, such as Non-resistance, &c. And so the old Proverb may be applied to him, *Aquila non caprar muscas.* But I must take the Liberty to tell him, that the Generality of our high Non-resistance mens practice is as contrary to the Precepts and Example of our Lord, as the worst of those that (he says) make a fasting day for our Saviours Nativity. He

He tells us next, *Did we seriously study the Laws of Providence, and consider the Indispensable Obligations laid on us of taking up the Cross, &c.* Very true, But because we are ordered to take up the Cross when called to it, must we therefore make one for our selves, as if we were as ambitious of it as the Primitive Christians were of Martyrdom. I think our Author himself, if he be of that Church he professes, will not therefore justify the Papists making a Rod to chastise themselves with on good *Friday*, or think that God is pleased therewith, since he never desired them to take up that Cross: many crosses are laid upon us by God, which yet we may use lawful means to get rid of particularly sickness; and he would be thought a fool that would not apply himself to Physicians to get free of it, but would expect to be cured by a Miracle: And till our Author has given better Arguments for Non-resistance than we have yet seen, we must take the Liberty to say, that in order to the preserving of our Lives against a Tyrant that would take them away, we may as warrantably make use of Self-Defence, as of Physicians when sickness threatens us with Death.

His Instance of the Gnosticks is very far from the purpose, for *Thid.* as the Author he quotes upon that Subject says, they reckoned all Governments to be nothing else but the contrivance of some evil Spirits, whereas there are none of those that are for Self-defence (if we except those of the Fifth Monarchy Principle) but have as great a veneration for Government as any of his Party, and would hazard as much for the supporting thereof as any of them; but as for Tyranny, when people are much in the same case, if not worse, than if there were no Government at all, the case is quite altered. That other Citation of *Machiavel* is much to the same purpose, and therefore I pass it.

He next reflects upon *Hobbs*, (but I suppose designed to wound another through his sides, for in other points I believe they needed no Reconciliation) and his Conscience is mightily startled (if he has any) at the dangerous Tenets which he revived, *viz.* That Power is originally in the people, that the Foundation of all Government is laid in Compact, and that the Breach of Conditions by one Party justifies that of the other. But I would gladly hear his Proofs that Power was not Originally in the people; and how Kings came first by their Power: For all that ever this Author or any of his party have said about it is a meer *Chimera*; *viz.* That Kings as they derived their Lives, so they received their Power from Adam and

Noah, by virtue of their Primogeniture, as the first had it immediately from God, without any consent of the People: But first, then it would follow that Mankind should be born as great slaves as Beasts, since a King in such a case should have as much Propriety over them, as any Countrey-man has over his Horse, Cows or Sheep; than which nothing can be more repugnant to reason. 2. It would follow that there should have been but one Universal King over the whole Earth, viz. the Eldest Son of *Noah*, who undoubtedly must have that Power over all his Younger Brethren, and consequently his Posterity in the right line, must have had the same Power over their Posterity, and there could not have been any other Kings unless he or his Posterity in the right line had made them their Vicererents; but this is altogether Inhistorical: And therefore their position must be false. For it is certain that the great Monarchies that have been in the World were but small Kingdoms at the first, and that for a considerable time, and were after ward enlarged by Conquest. 3. If this Conjecture had been true, it would follow that God himself contradicted his own Order, without any reason for it: For upon the *Israelites* desiring a King, should not he rather have made choice of the chief of the first Tribe, than of one of the meanest families of the Youngest Tribe, viz. *Saul*, who was not master of such Vertues as to recommend him to the Crown, before all the rest of the Children of *Israel*? The like may be said of *David* who was not of the Eldest Family of *Judah*; and tho' he was a Man after Gods own heart, yet according to those Gentlemens opinion, another should not have been deprived of his Right. And since this Opinion has not the least ground for it, it must necessarily follow that it was by Election, and consequently that the Power of Election resided in the People; and as the People did elect them, so it is most rational to suppose, that Articles were drawn up betwixt them and the People, which were to be mutually observed; for 'tis very improbable that People would give up themselves as Bondslaves to that Prince, but entrusted him with the Government, merely that they might under him lead quiet and peaceable Lives; and since he had no right to Tyrannize over People, his Successors could have no more right than he, and if he or they did endeavour to oppress the Subjects, & encroach upon their Liberties and Privileges, they might lawfully defend themselves. But this Subject is too large to insist upon, and therefore I must leave it, tho' in our Gentlemans opinion one of the Fundamental Points of Christianity!

Another Damnable Doctrine that makes this good Mans hairs stand *Ibid.* an end is, *That when Religion is a part of our Property it may be defended.* But why should this be such a Bugbear? For what has been more dear to all Nations in the World than Religion? If Civil Privileges may be maintained, and if we enjoy as them helps to us in our Religion, or serving God, then it will follow, that we may much more maintain our religious Privileges. Nothing can be more dear or more worth the preserving in a Land than the freedom of our Religion: Has not the Scripture it self reckoned it the greatest of Privileges when it said, *Blessed are they that bear the Fossil found*? And if it be such a Mercy, may we not at least use all the means for maintaining of it that we may do for a Mercy of an Inferiour Nature? But I would fain know if a King should go about to put down the Hierarchy and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, what our Author and his Party would do, whether or no they would defend their Religion: He that would think they would patiently sit with it, would I doubt not be mightily mistaken: Nay have we not sufficiently seen of late what they would do, by the

practice of their Brethren in *Scotland*, and their publick Approbation of it here in most Coffee-houses: For none have been so Indulgent of late (and that with a mischievous Design to stir up people against the Government) as those very Men, in buzzing it about here that the turning out of the Bishops in *Scotland* was the only occasion of *Dunder's* Rebellion there. And why have so many of them Vindicated them for so doing? Of all men of the World it least became them; & had they considered how contradictory that behaviour is to the Doctrine of Non-resistance, they would have had more prudence whatever they thought, than to have said so: So that by this we may see however Heterodox this Opinion is, *That Religion when it is a part of our Property may be defended*, yet those Gentlemen would maintain it when it makes for their Turn.

He concludes this Paragraph with telling you, that he speaks this Page 5. *God knows to confute the Calumny, and with the deepest sense of the Interests of a poor despised Church, which is still and will be the best, the most Orthodox, and most Primitive of all Christendom.* Magisterially spoken! But why despised? I know no Man despises her; but it would seem our Author by his despised Church means only those persons that have refused to take the Oaths: And it is no wonder if that party of it be despised, that out of a humour or some sinister Arbitrary design, advance such Doctrines in the World as have such a tendency to the enslaving and Oppression of Mankind in General. But this Gentleman talks more like a Son of Infallibility, than one that acknowledges a Church to be fallible: For why should he thus extol the Church of *England* so highly beyond all other Churches: That she is a famous Church none will deny, and also that she has Learned and Pious men in her Communion as any other Church: But it is always a sign both of Prudence and Modesty not to run out too much in our own Praise: The Proverb holds still *Laudis propriis lordescit in ore*. I could wish it were more minded by those men, when they thus claim to themselves an Excellence beyond all other Churches. This more becomes a Church that pretends to Infallibility than any other. We have heard of a Church that said she was rich and well clothed, and stood in need of nothing, when yet she wanted every thing: I do not say this as if I thought that her case were the same with that of that Church, but only that she and every other Church should not think of themselves so as to despise all others. But he not only says that she is, but that she will be, which yet favours more of Infallibility: Could our Author spare so much time from reading those places in the Scripture which he thinks make most for Non-resistance, I would desire him to read the second and third Chapter of the *Revelation*, and there he would find that the Seven Churches of *Asia* (which the Spirit of God called the *Seven Golden Candlesticks*) were once as famous Churches as ever the Church of *England* or any other Church was, and yet many years ago there has been little resemblance of a Church there. And the same may befall her or any other Church: But if it do not, I am sure she need not thank this Author or any of his Party for it; for could they bring about their designs, she would quickly be brought to that pass, when we had the Romish Crew again brought in amongst us.

That Citation he quotes out of *Cressy* is as little to his purpose, and he *Ibid.* mentions it only to make us believe that Mr. *Calvin* and other Protestants abroad were Champions for Non-resistance; but if so, how came so many Pulpits to thunder out against *Calvin* and other Foreign Protestants as

the Broachers of Sedition? And why were several of their Works burnt at Oxford, *An. 1683.* when Non-resistance was culmiant? However it seems he is a very good-natured Gentleman, and would make Mr. *Calvin* some redress for the Injury that has been done to his Reputation.

But to let you know the sincerity of his Undertaking, he tells you that he intends no Disturbance by it, since he only does the Office of an Historian. *Ibid.* in barely citing his Authors, and so he excuses himself from making good every Argument therein, since the Authors most of them being alive, are obliged to manage that; wherein he is to be commended for his Prudence, for I am afraid it would have been too difficult a Task for him: But I thought that the Evidence of Scripture and Reason was to be a Protestants Rule, and not blindly to believe as the Church or generality of her Fathers believe: And therefore he would have done much more for his Cause, had he himself demonstrated the Necessity of Non-resistance by solid Arguments taken from Scripture and Reason, and the universal practice of all sober men, than by thus letting down a multitude (of it may be not a few of them wrested) expressions of several Learned Men. But his design is no less than, since he sees that he and his Party cannot carry on their malicious purposes, to stir up and exasperate the minds of simple inconsiderate people against those Learned Men. For all men of consideration must acknowledge, that the best and most Learned Men are not exempted from Errors, as also that there is scarce any man so even tempered, but that sometimes Passion and Prejudice against a Party may carry them out too far in a preposterous Zeal, so as to utter not only many unbecoming expressions against the Opinions of a Party they have a dislike at, but even to run too far upon the extremum. And this is no new thing in the World. But that those Learned Men have renitted of that height of Loyalty, which they maintained at the times when they published those sayings which he quotes, seems to me clear from this: That since the Restauration of King *Charles II.* that Subject was mostly insisted on (and that chiefly, as I believe, from a detestation of the Barbarous Murder of King *Charles I.*) and especially towards the latter end of his Reign, and the beginning of the late King *Jam. II.* when yet there was not half the danger of its being transgressed, (by those of the Communion of the Church of *England* at least) as towards the latter end of King *Jam. II.* s. Reign, when the generality of the Church of *England* was discontented; and yet then, when it was in most danger to be laid aside, especially about the time when His Present Majesty was Undertaking his Expedition for our Delivery, it was not in the least insisted on any where that I could hear of; which if it had been effectually done, and people practised accordingly, who doubts but we had been in worse Circumstances than ever? For if any that was brought over could have signified nothing against King *Jam. II.* and not (to give them our Authors denomination) so many Rebellious Subjects joined them. Now I can see no other reason why they did not insist on it then, but that they saw the evil of running out too much upon it formerly, and considered that if they should slight to favourable a Providence as God had offered, for delivering them from Popery and Slavery, they should justly have forfeited all share of the Compassion of God, when their destruction would have been so manifestly of themselves, and incurred the just hatred and indignation of all Protestants abroad, whose security depended upon theirs, and the derision even of Papists themselves. And what reasonable Man will condemn them for renouncing a Doctrine,

Strine, which if they had at that time retained it, would have ruined Three Kingdoms?

To conclude, since what follows of his Preface is much the same with what has been taken notice of above, I shall pass it. Any understanding Reader may easily smell out the design of it, as also of publishing the Declaration of a lately deceased Prelate, the publishers whereof seem to have had little respect to his credit, when they exposed what he wrote in his weakness to publick censure. But I am very far mistaken if it carry any more weight in it than the dying words of some of the *Cameronian* party in *Scotland*, since his Reasons he produces for it have no greater strength than theirs had, and they died with as much comfort as he, and which is more, died actually for that which they gave Testimony to, which he did not; tho' it's true he was suspended for it: But grant he had died for it, yet should we embrace every Opinion, upon our seeing some dye for it, we should change as many Opinions as there are points in the Compals.

And seeing the great Argument they insist upon is, that since they have Sworn Allegiance to the late King, they cannot Swear to any other during his Life, if I should not go further, viz. the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and whither that would tend, the Reader may judge: I shall only adduce one Instance out of Scripture, that seems to come pretty near our case, viz. that when *Nebuchadnezzar* took *Jerusalem*, and made *Zedekiah* his Prisoner, tho' that King was of a different Religion and Foreign Nation, (which was of great weight among the Jews,) yet all the honest Men of the Jewish Nation owned his Authority, and were justified by the Scripture for so doing: Tho' there was a Party of them that would not (set on work by the King of the *Ammonites*, who designed no less in it, than the utter destruction of that People; as we know a Neighbouring Tyrant, that is and has been no less active in stirring up People here, with the same design as that King did then) yet we see from *Jer. 42*. what sort of Men they were. And tho' I doubt not but some of those that refuse to take the Oaths do it in the sincerity of their Soul, yet it is too plain that there are too many of the same sort of men amongst them. But I hope that all true hearted *Englishmen* and good Protestants will in this their day know the things that belong to their Peace, before they be hid from their Eyes, and as they have hitherto appeared for their Religious and Civil Liberties in devolving the Government upon their present Majesties, so they will concur with them in settling the three Kingdoms, and endeavour to bring to exemplary punishment all such as disturb the Peace of our *Israel*.

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